

# Costeggiando l'Eurasia/Coasting Eurasia

Archeologia del paesaggio e geografia storica tra l'Oceano Indiano e il Mar Mediterraneo

a cura di/edited by Marco Ramazzotti





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# Costeggiando l'Eurasia / Coasting Eurasia

Archeologia del paesaggio e geografia storica tra l'Oceano Indiano e il Mar Mediterraneo

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In copertina | Cover image: l'Eurasia occidentale da immagine satellitare (Google Earth).

## Indice

	efazione arco Ramazzotti	9
1.	Introduzione	11
	Maria Giovanna Biga, Loredana Sist	
2.	Le iscrizioni reali sumeriche come mappe del regno	15
	Stefano Seminara	
3.	From Text to Landscape. Introduction to the historical geography of the Land of Sumer	27
	Edoardo Zanetti	
4.	Luban and Lumnan. New proposal for site localization in the region around Ebla – Tell Mardikh (Syria) during the Third Millennium BCE <i>Ahmad Karbotly</i>	47
5.	La frequentazione preislamica della necropoli di Dibba al Bahya e le evidenze di direttrici commerciali e interazioni culturali intorno allo stretto di Hormuz agli albori del I millennio d.C.	63
	Francesco Genchi	
6.	40 years of geoarchaeological activities of the University of Naples L'Orientale in the Arabian Peninsula. Remarks on some geoarchaeological contexts in their paleo-environments	81
	Romolo Loreto (with a contribution by Mattia Cozzolino)	
7.	Fra deserto e oceano: gli insediamenti di Maitan nel quadro del Neolitico dell'Oman meridionale (Rub al-Khali, Sultanato dell'Oman)	99
	Maria Pia Maiorano, Mohammed Al Kindi, Vincent Charpentier, Jérémie Vosges, Grégor Marchand, Federico Borgi, Martin Pickford, Tara Beuzen-Waller, Dominique Gommery, Said al-Huraizi e Ali Al-Mahri	
8.	Mapping the Early Bronze Age anthropological mobility in the southern fringes of al-Hajar Mountains through Artificial Adaptive Systems <i>Guido Antinori, Federico Rabuffi</i>	119

9.	La sacralità della montagna nel paesaggio fisico e socioculturale degli Zagros occidentali <i>Gianfilippo Terribili</i>	137
10.	Sacred topography of Elymaean mountains: the sanctuaries of Masjed-e Soleīmān and Bard-e Nešāndeh and their landscape Francesca Giusto	161
11.	L'edificio monumentale di Kangavar ed il paesaggio culturale degli Zagros centrali in epoca tardo-antica: note a margine di alcune attività archeologiche irano-italiane <i>Giulio Maresca, Morteza Garavand</i>	179
12.	La comunità Yezida e lo spazio sacro. Fruizione e tradizione rituale dei Santuari Yezidi <i>Ghiath Rammo</i>	193
13.	La ricerca archeologica italiana in Mongolia e Asia Centrale: esplorando il paesaggio fisico e culturale della Valle dei Laghi e delle montagne dei Gobi-Altai <i>Cecilia Dal Zovo, Bruno Marcolongo</i>	211
14.	"Alte montagne, valli profonde, flutti tranquilli". Osservazioni su un <i>tòpos</i> letterario ittita <i>Rita Francia, Matteo Vigo</i>	233
15.	From Ṭušpa to Apuni. An analysis of 8 <sup>th</sup> century military campaigns in the northern border of Bia/Urartu <i>Roberto Dan, Marie-Claude Trémouille</i>	251
16.	Arzawa in Pisidia: una terra fertile e ricca d'acqua, anello di congiunzione tra le aree dell'alto Meandro e l'Anatolia sud-orientale <i>Fabrizio Giovannetti</i>	265
17.	La Valle del Lico. Un paesaggio anatolico in età ellenistico-romana Francesco Guizzi	283
18.	The Diyala Region and the 'Territorial State of Kish' Francesco Del Bravo	297
19.	Lettura del paesaggio propagandistico nelle narrazioni visive neoassire <i>Elena Asero</i>	315
20.	Gerico: risorse, economia e commerci della città del III millennio a.C. Lorenzo Nigro	327
21.	Brevi osservazioni sui confini dei regni transgiordani nell'Età del Ferro Francesco M. Benedettucci	345
22.	La regione interna della Palestina a sud di Gerusalemme nella West Bank: recenti scoperte a Betlemme <i>Daria Montanari</i>	351

23. The Goddes "ἀνακοιǫανέουσαν ἐν πόντῷ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ". The role of the coastal Sanctuaries of the Mediterranean in the development of the land and sea landscapes: the case of Ras il-Wardija at Gozo (Malta) <i>Federica Spagnoli</i>	363
24. Chasing the water: a renovated analysis of settlement trends, land geography, and livelihood strategies of the Southern Levant communities in the Early Iron Age <i>Maria Tamburrini</i>	383
25. Elementi delle strutture difensive urbane nel paesaggio mineo: lessico, confronti e contesti d'uso <i>Alessio Agostini</i>	401
26. Una tribù preislamica in Transgiordania. Una nota su Ǧadīma, re dei Tanūḥ, in un contesto linguistico e geografico nabateo <i>Giuseppe Petrantoni</i>	425
27. Influenze ellenistico-romane nei palazzi reali Nabatei <i>Emanuela Borgia</i>	431
28. The Via Nova of Trajan in Arabia Marcello Spanu	447
29. Il commercio nel Mar Rosso e le implicazioni religiose nel regno Nabateo Marika De Filippo	461
30. Studio e analisi del paesaggio archeominerario della regione del Moulou Lorenza Ilia Manfredi, Pasquale Merola	ya 479
31. Per una storia del pensiero pre-archeologico nell'Islam medioevale Leonardo Capezzone	497
32. Il paesaggio dell'Egitto nel Kitāb al-ifādah di 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī Ahmed Fatima Kzzo	509
33. Il Vicino Oriente antico come strumento didattico per la conoscenza e la condivisione di un paesaggio umano, storico e geografico <i>Irene Viaggiu, Barbara De Propris</i>	515
34. L'Oriente negli occhi di un bambino. La storia e le storie come immagini del mondo <i>Cristiana Pezzetta, Marta Rivaroli</i>	531
Ringraziamenti	551

### 23. The Goddes "ἀνακοιǫανέουσανἐν πόντωκαὶἐπὶχθονὶ". The role of the coastal Sanctuaries of the Mediterranean in the development of the land and sea landscapes: the case of Ras il-Wardija at Gozo (Malta).

Federica Spagnoli

### Abstract

The sanctuaries of Astarte disseminated along the coasts of the Mediterranean in ancient times attest the wide diffusion of the cult of the deity, with specific and shared features. According to the ancient sources, they played a pivotal role in maritime dynamics, since they signaled, whit their light, the existence of a " $\varepsilon \upsilon \lambda \iota \mu \eta \nu$ ", literary a "shelter from the waves" (Ant. Pal. XIII: 3-4; Ant. Pal. XII: 9-10; Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae VII: 106). But the importance of these sacred places was far from over: the coastal sanctuaries of Astarte extended the control and protection of the Goddess also in the surrounding territory. The importance of these structures is thus twofold: towards the sea, they highlight the presence of a harbor or a shelter place, and towards the land, they influence the economic and social development of the surrounding region and the human landscape. The casestudy of the Sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija at Gozo is emblematic of this double function of this cult place, as a guide for the maritime trades and a medium of social integration and economic development of the surrounding territory.

Key words: Phoenician, Punic, Roman, Sanctuary, Astarte, landscape, environment.

### 23.1. Introduction

The promontory of Ras il-Wardija, on the northwestern cusp of the Island of Gozo holds one of the most spectacular temples of ancient Mediterranean dedicated to the Phoenician goddess Astarte.

The Phoenician-Punic Sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija dates to the end of 5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> century BC, and hosts an important cult of Astarte/Hera/Juno throughout the Roman period (3<sup>rd</sup> BC-2<sup>nd</sup> AD)<sup>1</sup>.

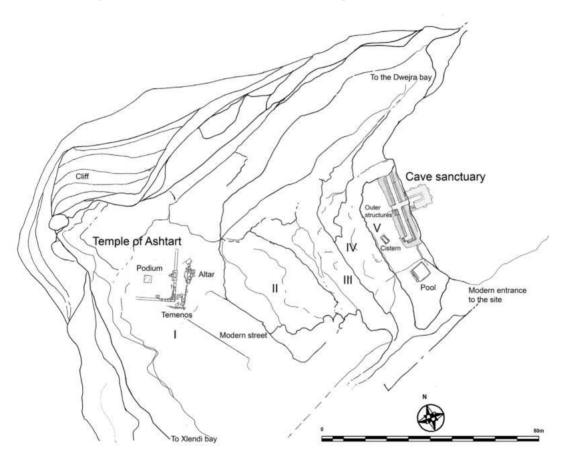
Ras il-Wardija was one of the main Mediterranean sanctuaries dedicated to the Great Goddess of sailors, along the ancient sea-route called "Route of the Great Islands" connecting the East and the West of the Mediterranean. This type of sanctuaries had the function of highlighting both landing places and dangerous branches

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The long period of use is one of the characteristics shared by many cave-sanctuaries in the Mediterranean. In this regard see Bertran López 2014, 822-823.

of navigation, as in the case of Wardija, the whiteness of the temple made the coast visible from far away.

The general plan of the sanctuary has been clarified by the excavations of the Italian Mission that operated in the site between 1963-1967 (Fig. 23.1). However, a further investigation of the structures with respect to the territory behind it, consisting of a large open space modeled by some small hills, a deep analysis of rites and cults worshiped in the sanctuary, and the overall chronology are still missing.

Sapienza University, thanks to a new agreement with the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage of Malta and Heritage Malta, aims at resuming the research activities at Ras il-Wardija, pursuing the study of the sanctuary and following new research paths, including the environment and the ancient landscape.



**Fig. 23.1.** General plan of the promontory of Ras il-Wardija. The sanctuary lays on five sloping terraces, and consists of two cult places, the Cave sanctuary on the fifth terrace and the Temple of Ashtart on the first terrace (Drawing F. Spagnoli).

### 23.2. Plan and architecture of the Punic-Roman Sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija

Excavations on the site<sup>2</sup> were resumed by the Sapienza Archaeological Mission to Gozo in 2021<sup>3</sup> aiming at clarifying the nature of the cult and the rituals by meaning of a reexamination of the archaeological remains and the analysis of pottery, objects, and architectural elements, to date only partially published<sup>4</sup>.

The sanctuary rests on five terraces sloping down towards the cliff overhanging the sea and includes two main buildings: the cave complex on the upper terraces and the Temple of Astarte, a large, square-block building with a monumental threshold on the lower terrace surrounded by a temenos. The sanctuary was in use from the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC until the Imperial Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup> century AD).

The cave complex on the upper terraces consists of a rock-cut cave and the ancillary structures in front and to the sides of the cave entrance (Fig. 23.2).

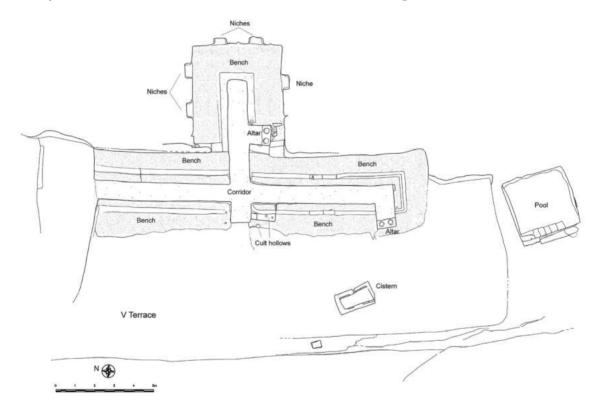


Fig. 23.2. Plan of the Cave sanctuary on the fifth terrace. In front of the cave are the ancillary structures (benches, altar and cult hollows) and the cistern, and to the south the sacred pool (Drawing F. Spagnoli).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The site was excavated by the Italian Mission in Malta directed by Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo and Catia Caprino in the field between 1963 and 1967, and published in the series *Missione Archeologica a Malta* 1964-1968, but several aspects of the cult and ritual have not been thoroughly investigated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In 2021 the Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo launched a multi-year research programme (Ras il-Wardija Project) thanks to a new agreement with Heritage Malta and the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage. The Project is aimed at the publication of the Italian excavations and at the enhancement of this important, but little-known, Punic-Roman sanctuary. The Project is financed by the 2021 and 2022 funds of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation for Archaeology - MAECI.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Spagnoli 2022: 22-23.



Fig. 23.3. The interior of the Cave sanctuary, east and south sides. Against the south side is the altar with circular recesses and, behind it, the cavity for a stelae (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

The cave is a rectangular chamber decorated by five framed niches. Leaning against the walls are three wide benches divided in the centre by a 1m wide corridor, carved into the rock, which continues outwards, where it intersects perpendicularly with another long transversal corridor, running the entire length of the rock wall (Fig. 23.3). Long benches are arranged on either side of the outer corridor<sup>5</sup>. Both inside the chamber and outside on the benches, are numerous circular cavities of different sizes, probably ritual "coppelle", and two altars consisting of a stone slab with two circular hollows. Outside the complex in front of the cave a cistern for collecting rainwater supplied the sanctuary, while to the south is a pool employed for a cult use. The pool was accessed by a staircase on the west side (Fig. 23.4).

### 23.2.1. The Temple of Astarte

On the lower terrace arose the Temple of Ashtart, a rectangular building of stone blocks, with a large entrance aligned to a monumental structure in front of the threshold<sup>6</sup>, consisting of two stone slabs with two circular recesses, surmounted by two squared blocks on the east side, and two more blocks, higher up, now lost, placed above a shallow platform<sup>7</sup> (Fig. 23.5).

The temple is surrounded by an outer wall, interpreted as a sacred precinct (temenos). In the inner corner of the temenos a limestone stone in the shape of a pyramidion

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Spagnoli 2022: 23-24, with previous bibliography.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Tamassia 1966: 147-150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Tamassia 1967: pl. 72:2; Caprino 1968: 87-88.



**Fig. 23.4**. The sacred pool with access steps. In the background on the left the cistern with rectangular opening, on the right the external corridor and ancillary structures, from the south (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

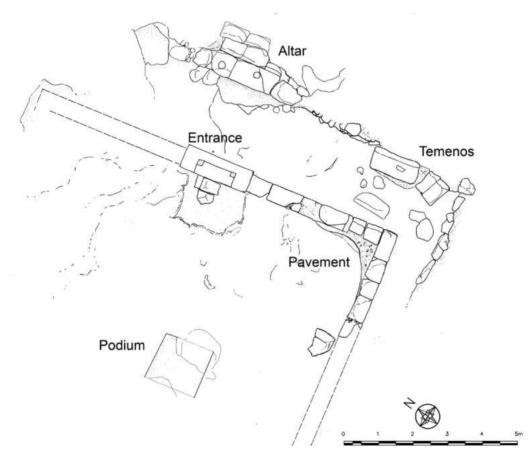


Fig. 23.5. Plan of the Temple of Ashtart on the first terrace (Drawing F. Spagnoli).



Fig. 23.6. The Temple of Ashtart and the monumental altar on the first terrace, in the background the temenos, from north-west (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

was found<sup>8</sup>. All the structures on the first terrace have the same East-West orientation as the cave complex; the dimensions of the threshold suggest a monumental size of the building, which was much larger than the part preserved today. The temple was built with local stone blocks laying directly on the rock soil, which was covered with a floor of limestone marl mixed with marble fragments, while the walls were covered with plaster<sup>9</sup>. The walls of the temple were plastered both inside and outside and enhanced with plastic decorations<sup>10</sup>. The outer structure, traditionally interpreted as an altar<sup>11</sup>, and the monumental threshold were aligned with another structure inside the temple, originally located in a square recess cut into the pavement, measuring 1 m for a depth of 8 cm (Fig. 23.6).

The square hollow probably hosted a pedestal or podium that supported the cult image of the deity<sup>12</sup> (Fig. 23.7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> RW S-20: Tamassia1967: 104, pl. 75:3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Tamassia 1966: 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Tamassia 1967: 105-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Tamassia 1967: 100-102, pl. 72:1. In fact, the presence of two perforated slabs recalls the thresholds of the Maltese Prehistoric temples and suggests that this structure was the doorway to the temenos: Azzopardi 2017: 40-42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Spagnoli 2022: 24-25.



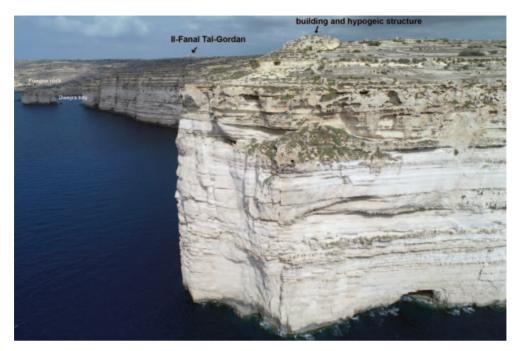
Fig. 23.7. The square recess cut into the pavement at the centre of the Temple, probably hosting a lost podium, from the south (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

# 23.3. The sanctuaries of Astarte in the Mediterranean: methodological issues and open questions

The sanctuaries of Astarte dotted along the coasts of the Mediterranean in ancient times attest the wide diffusion of the cult of the deity, with specific and shared features, and trace a kind of "sacred geography" that remains as a guide for sailors also in Late Antiquity and Medieval times. According to the ancient sources, the sanctuaries dedicated to Astarte – Aphrodite in the Greek devotion –played a pivotal role in maritime dynamics, since they signaled the existence of a " $\varepsilon v \lambda \mu \eta v$ ", literary a "shelter from the waves" for the sea workers ( $i \rho \gamma \dot{\alpha} \tau \alpha i \dot{\alpha} \lambda \dot{\alpha} \varsigma$ ) (Ant. Pal. XII: 9-10), as the nearby Dwejra Bay for the coast of Wardija. However, the importance of these sacred places was not limited to that: the coastal sanctuaries of Astarte extended the control and protection of the Goddess not only at the sea but also on the mainland (ἀνακοιρανέουσαν τοῦτο καὶ ἐν πόντῷ καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ: Ant. Pal. XIII: 3-4; Athenaeus, Deipnosophistae VII: 106). Ancient authors report that the Goddes was venerated as "Euploia, Pontia, Limenia, Epilimenia" (Poseidippos 119, ed. Austin, Bastianini), highlighting the maritime vocation of the sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija, as the topographical evidence confirms<sup>13</sup>: due to its prominent position, the sanctuary was clearly visible from the sea (Fig. 23.8) and was visually connected to Ras ir-Raħeb, on the plateau of Bahrija<sup>14</sup>, a sister sanctuary on the same coastal side but on the island of

<sup>13</sup> Azzopardi 2017:, 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Hassam 2020: 105.



**Fig. 23.8**. Drone view of the sanctuary from the south-west, with indications of the hill dominating the sanctuary and the hill of the Gordan lighthouse in the background (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

Malta. Due to their location, the two shrines were a kind of landmark visible from the sea<sup>15</sup>, useful for sailing routes along the western part of the Maltese archipelago, in a treacherous stretch of windswept coastline with strong sea currents and high cliffs<sup>16</sup>. The lighthouse function of the two shrines is also made plausible by the presence, between the two promontories, of the important port of Xlendi, a prominent trading hub in Gozo during the Punic, Roman and later periods. Ras il Wardija and Ras ir-Raħeb<sup>17</sup> were probably included in a signaling and control system<sup>18</sup> that also involved other lighthouses, such as the one on Il-Fanal tal-Gordan hill (§23.5.2), visible from the Wardija promontory.

However, it is necessary to reconsider this type of sanctuary according to a "landbased perspective" of the cult, often not emphasized in past studies. This opens up two scientific questions on the nature and the religious field of the cult worshiped at Ras il-Wardija Project:

- 1. What kind of rituals were expressed in the sanctuary, and how does the devotion to Astarte materialize?
- 2. Which is the relation between the sanctuary and its hinterland, and which was its role in the exploitation of the surrounding resources?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Azzopardi 2017: 22-23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Spagnoli 2022: 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The Punic sanctuary of Ras ir-Raħeb arose from an earlier megalithic temple of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC (Buhagiar 1989: 69).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> A possible lighthouse was at Wardija Ta' San Gorġ, a Late Bronze Age fortified village on the promontory of Gebel Ciantar, south western coast of Malta (Trump 2004: 262-263).

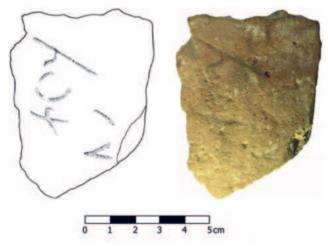
The research conducted by the Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo aims to answer these questions by investigating the nature of the cult and the relationship of the sanctuary with the surrounding area.

### 23.4. The nature of the cult worshiped at Ras il-Wardija

The interpretative problems related to the sanctuary concern both the attribution of the sanctuary to the divine couple Astarte and a male chthonic deity<sup>19</sup>, an issue that has been debated over a long period, and those aspects of the rituality and the offering rules carried out, which were not clarified by the excavations in the 1960s. The preliminary analysis carried out by the Sapienza Archaeological Mission in the 2022 study campaign on the unpublished materials found at the site, however, has partially clarified these aspects.

### 23.4.1. Attribution of the cult

The identification of the titular deity of the sanctuary is a question that has long been debated. Catia Caprino, who directed the excavations in the 1960s, proposed, on the basis of several clues, such as the position of the sanctuary on the promontory, and the stelae and the pyramidion RW-S20, the attribution of the cult to Astarte<sup>20</sup>. Recently, George Azzopardi has suggested that a male deity was also worshiped in the sanctuary, a Phoenician Baal/Shadrapa who during the 4th-3rd century BC took the form of a Greek deity identified with Dionysus<sup>21</sup>.



**Fig. 23.9**. The dedication *l* '*s*[*t*] *rt*, «to As[t]art»), incised on the sherd W51/4 (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo, drawing D. Iorio).

The confirmation that the sanctuary was dedicated to the Goddess came unexpectedly in the May 2022 Mission, in which the Sapienza Archaeological Mission started to process the materials of the sanctuary. During the works, a number of fragments

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Azzopardi 2017: 53-57; Spagnoli 2022: 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Caprino 1968: 93-94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Azzopardi 2017: 62.

were found that had Punic letters engraved before firing, suggesting these were manufactured for an exclusive use in the sanctuary. These letters compose complete or abbreviated votive inscriptions bearing the name of the goddess Astarte. They report the canonic dedicatory formula l '*Štrt*, to Astarte (Fig. 23.9) in the typical Punic-Maltese script<sup>22</sup>, and confirm the earlier assumptions about the attribution of the cult. Some of the pottery fragments with inscriptions, belonging to cups, jugs and pots, are quite similar to those found at Tas Silġ (Fig. 23.10), the great sanctuary of Astarte of Malta located in the south of the island near the bay of Marsaxlokk<sup>23</sup>. This discovery opens up a twofold research perspective: on the one hand it makes it possible to suppose a link, the nature of which is still to be clarified (only religious or also political?) with the Maltese sanctuary, and on the other it offers useful data for the identification of the centers of production of goods (in this case ceramics) connected to the sanctuaries, which are thus configured not only as religious poles but also as organisms capable of conveying productive and commercial activities.

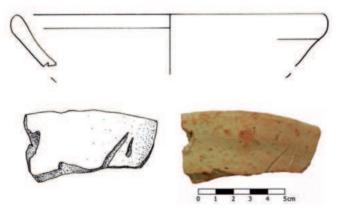


Fig. 23.10. Punic letter *taw* incised on the bottom of the dish W53/5 (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

### 23.4.2. Rituals and offering rules

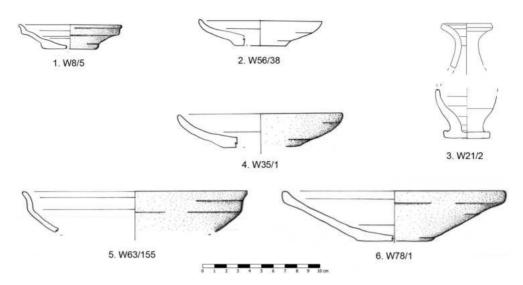
The study of the ceramic classes and vase typologies used in the sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija revealed a predominance, both in the Punic period (late 5<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) and in the Roman period (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), of tableware (Fig. 23.11:4-6), and fire pottery, followed by storage and transport pottery. Tableware ceramics consist mainly of plates, cups and pottery vessels of local production and standard-ized types<sup>24</sup>. The pots and pans, on the other hand, are both locally produced and imported<sup>25</sup> and range in size from 18 to 27 cm. The massive presence of these ceramic types in the sanctuary offers indications on the rituals practiced there: they were in fact used for the ritual banquets celebrated in the sanctuary, probably in a collective form, as the strong standardization of the ceramic types, and the size of the pots and pans, suitable for serving food for many people, would show.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Amadasi Guzzo 2004: 289-290, fig. 6; Piacentini 2019: 1064, fig. 10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Amadasi Guzzo 1969: Malta 9; Bonanno 2022.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Quercia 2011: 439, fig. 2: 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> A few fragments of "Pantellerian Ware" are recorded: Baldassarri 2010: 101, pl. 24:7.3a, type 7.



**Fig. 23.11**. Miniature ware (1-3) and Tableware (4-6) from the sanctuary of Ras il-Wardija, (Drawings D. Iorio).

The storage vessels are represented by the large ollae with a pyriform body and rounded rim typical of the Maltese Punic production of the 4th century B.C., which persisted, without significant morphological variations, into the Roman period<sup>26</sup>. Regarding the use of these vessels, we can assume that they mainly contained water, which had to be brought into the sanctuary as there are no freshwater springs in the vicinity of the site.

Transport amphorae are represented by Carthaginian amphorae from the 4th-3rd century BC<sup>27</sup>, Greek Italic amphorae from the 3rd century BC<sup>28</sup> and Roman amphorae of Dressel types 1, 2-4<sup>29</sup>, Dressel 43<sup>30</sup>, and Dressel 6<sup>31</sup>, dated back from the 3<sup>nd</sup> century BC to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. The variety of the productions, coming from different areas of the Mediterranean<sup>32</sup>, shows the extensive trade circuit in which the island of Gozo was involved in Punic and Roman times. The amphorae types attested were usually used to transport wine, olive oil and garum<sup>33</sup>, a traditional Punic sauce produced by salting fish that was also highly appreciated by the Romans, and this data informs us, albeit partially, about what foodstuffs were consumed during the rituals in the sanctuary.

As far as the offering regime is concerned, however, an important indication is provided by another ceramic production found at Ras il-Wardija, that of Miniature ware.

- <sup>27</sup> Ramón Torres 1995: 205-206, fig. 74: 4-a.
- <sup>28</sup> Olcese 2004: 178-179, figs. 3.1-3.2.

- <sup>30</sup> Caravale, Toffoletti 1997:166.
- <sup>31</sup> Lund 2000.
- <sup>32</sup> Auriemma, Quiri 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Ciasca 1985: 22-23, fig. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Iavarone, Olcese 2013.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> In order to give a more precise answer to this question, the Mission, in agreement with the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage of Malta, took ceramic samples for the analyses of volatile molecules and organic residues contained in the ceramic body (Sapienza Progetto Medio 2022, "Chemical Investigation of Ancient Pottery to Detect Organic Compounds from Residual Material: An Archaeometric Approach", funded).

This includes saucers, cups and oil bottles, almost all of which were ritually de-functionalized, i.e. the plates and cups broken in half (Fig. 23.11:1-2), the oil bottles cut to divide the body from the neck and rim (Fig. 23.11:3). Thus modified, these were given as votive offerings to the deity. This fact, combined with the discovery, in the area of the sanctuary, of stelae and baetyls during the 2021 excavation campaign, helps us reconstruct one of the ritual actions practiced in the sanctuary: the on-site, probably collective consumption of food and the individual offering of foodstuff to the deity/deities in votive deposits, indicated by a marker, consisting of baetyls, cippi and stelae. The sacred landscape, ritual and offering rules that emerged for Ras il-Wardija must therefore not have been very different from that of coeval sanctuaries, such as the C3 Sanctuary in Motya (Sicily)<sup>34</sup> or the open-air cult area of Tell Sukas in Syria<sup>35</sup>.

## 23.5. The sanctuary and its hinterland: strategic and economic entanglement

A re-contextualization of the sanctuary within the environmental dynamics of the territory surrounding the cult place, led to the recognition of the socio-cultural implications of the cult of the Phoenician Astarte in this territory. Due to its dominating position at the top of the Wardija promontory, the Sanctuary is naturally projected towards the sea, from where it was visible even from a great distance. The Sanctuary was in visual contact with Ras ir-Raħeb, a Maltese coastal sanctuary with similar characteristics: the two sanctuaries signaled to seafarers the route to follow along the south-western side of the Maltese archipelago, a dangerous stretch of sea due to strong currents and high cliffs<sup>36</sup>. Another point of this landmark system in visual connection with the promontory of Wardija, was the II-Fanal tal-Ġordan hill, where the Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo identified possible traces of an ancient occupation (see §23.5.2). The Sanctuary, therefore, was embedded in a network of contacts in the territory. In order to clarify the nature and the wideness of this entanglement, the Sapienza Archaeological Mission carried out a survey around the sanctuary and towards the east and north of the promontory.

### 23.5.1. The survey of the sanctuary area and the eastern hinterland (UR1-UR9)

The in-depth exploration of the hillside above the sanctuary to the east (UR1) revealed the presence of a block structure, of which a few wall alignments can be distinguished, in the center of which is a pit partially covered by weedy vegetation (Fig. 23.12). It is known in the literature that a signal post from the Knight's Period arose on the Wardija promontory, but the ceramic materials collected in the vicinity of the structure indicate an earlier use, contemporary to the sanctuary, between the 4<sup>th</sup> BC and 2<sup>nd</sup> AD (Fig. 23.13). The structure has never been documented or excavated, so the layout and function, and above all the relationship of the structure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Nigro 2009: 703-706; Spagnoli 2019: 244-245; Spagnoli 2023:861-863.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Sala 2020: 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Buhagiar 1989; Azzopardi 2017: 19-20.



**Fig. 23.12**. Globigerine blocks on the top of the hill dominating the sanctuary from the east. In the background the pit, covered by wild vegetation (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

with the sanctuary, are still unclear. Due to its elevated position, the hill may have housed the lighthouse connected to the sanctuary, but only future research will be able to confirm this hypothesis.

This inland area has been occupied since ancient times: on the slopes of Ghagjin Abdul hill, 2.5 km east of the site, are natural caves used in the Neolithic period as



Fig. 23.13. Material from the survey of the coastal area south of the sanctuary (UR 1-3). The repertoire includes Punic, Roman and medieval pottery sherds (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).



**Fig. 23.14**. A view of the Dwejra bay and the Fungus rock from the Neolithic caves of Ghajin Abdul, from the east (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

rock shelters<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 23.14); the survey to the top and at the foot of the hill revealed large areas frequented in the late Punic, Roman and Medieval periods. Around the sanctuary and in the mainland, the territory was exploited for agricultural production on artificial terraces. According to studies by the research team of the ERC *Fragsus* project<sup>38</sup> for Gozo and by Docter and others for Malta<sup>39</sup>, the terracing system for the agricultural exploitation of the islands of the Maltese archipelago dates back at least to the Late Bronze Age (facies of Borj in-Nadur, 1500-900 BC, and Bahrija, 900-700 BC): the artificial terraces allowed, in fact, a large-scale agricultural activity in a territory that was at times impervious and subject to a strong erosive action by atmospheric agents, especially the wind.

The occupation layout of the coastal area south of the sanctuary and the hinterland up to the Ghagjin Abdul hill, according to the data detected by the survey, in the period of interest (4<sup>th</sup> century BC-2<sup>nd</sup> century AD), consisted in a scattered settlement system, consisting of large farming areas on terraces belonging to small settlements, such as rustic villas in Roman times.

### 23.5.2. The survey to the north (UR11-UR12)

The survey of a large inland area was aimed at shedding light on the occupation pattern of the northern sector of the island of Gozo, which is still poorly understood, and its possible relation to the sanctuary.

In the north, the survey focused on the hill of the modern lighthouse of Gordan, Il-Fanal Tal-Gordan (UR12), built in 1650 and a British stronghold in the Second World War. The archaeological interest of this location, which is about 5 km of line-distance north of Ras il-Wardija, is linked to its strategic position: the lighthouse can be seen from Ras il-Wardija and vice-versa (Fig. 23.15), and like the sanctuary, it is possible that it once housed a lighthouse, connected to the maritime signaling system that included both Ras il-Wardija itself and the Maltese sanctuary of Ras ir-Raħeb.



**Fig. 23.15**. Landscape from the Gordan hill from the east side, with indications of the promontory of Ras il-Wardija (Photo: Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Bonanno 1986: 21-23, figs. 7-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Stoddart *et al.* 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Docter *et al.* 2012.

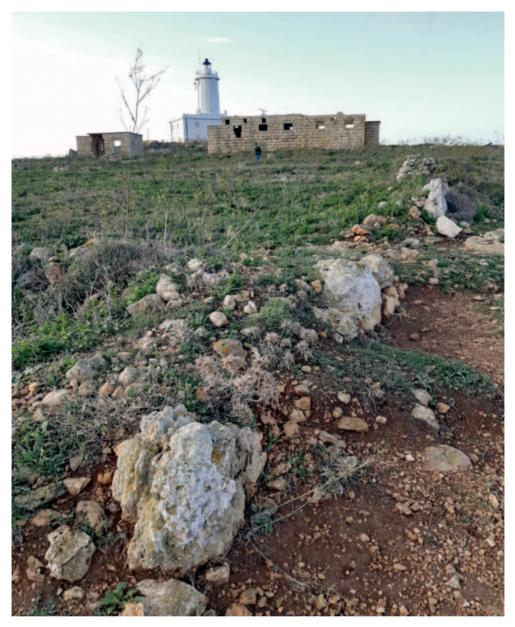


Fig. 23.16. Remains of a wall made of huge blocks of Upper Coralline stone on the northern side of the Gordan hill, from the north (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

Actually, the surface survey on the site showed that this area has probably been occupied since the Prehistory, as some large blocks were found lined up to the north of the lighthouse (Fig. 23.16), and evidence of a later occupation in antiquity consists in scattered pottery sherds of Punic and Roman times.

A short distance, 450 m east of the Gordan hill, at Ta' Kangla, located between Ghasri and L'Gharb, another hill of archaeological interest was identified during the survey. The hill is in a very dominant position on the seascape and on the Gozitan hinterland. At its slopes there is a belt of megalithic blocks and cavities opened between which, probably caves used as rock shelters in Prehistoric times (Fig. 23.17), similar to those known from Ghajin Abdul.



**Fig. 23.17**. Rock cave on the north-eastern slope of the Ta' Kangla hill (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

At the top of the tell, a circular structure (a silo?) excavated in the rock (Fig. 23.18) of the typical shape in use during the Bronze Age<sup>40</sup>, and walls made of medium-large blocks almost completely covered by wild vegetation, suggest the presence of a Prehistoric site (3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C.), while in the surrounding area, Punic and Roman pottery, as well as late Roman and Medieval materials scattered in the fields attest to an uninterrupted occupation over millennia of an area used for agricultural production, which is still cultivated today.

### 23.6. Conclusions

The continuation of excavations and research on the site of Ras il-Wardija by the Sapienza Archaeological Mission at



**Fig. 23.18**. Rock-cut circular structure (a silo?) detected on the top of the Ta' Kangla hill (Photo Sapienza Archaeological Mission at Gozo).

Gozo has opened up paths of research to get a broader awareness of the historical and archaeological importance of this site. In the light of this research, some of the salient

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Trump 2004: 186; Cardona, Zammit 2020: 165-169.

religious aspects of this cult place are now emerging, considering on the one hand to its maritime function due to its topographic position, and on the other to the importance in the rite of the agricultural environment in which it was located. In particular, the study of the ceramics with inscriptions has revealed an unprecedented link with the Tas Silġ sanctuary<sup>41</sup>, which makes it possible to assess the possibility of considering the cult of Astarte in Malta in terms of a proper "religious system" that included the two places of worship. In the hypothesis that identifies Ras il-Wardija with the sanctuary of Astarte mentioned in the Punic inscription called *Melitensia Quinta*<sup>42</sup>, we should reconsider the role of this sanctuary within the complex dynamics of the cult of Astarte of Malta, which was based in Tas Silġ<sup>43</sup>.

Future research will undoubtedly help to delineate all the issues related to this sanctuary which, although still unknown in many respects, has already begun to contribute to our knowledge of the cult of Astarte in Malta and throughout the Mediterranean.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> On the agrarian and fertility cults at Tas Silġ, see Vella 1987: 315-321.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The so-called *Melitensia Quinta* isa Phoenician inscription on a marble slab found in 1855 (CIS I 132). The inscription is dated to the end of the 3rd-beginning of the 2nd century BC, and it mentions four temples in Gozo dedicated to various divinities including Astarte (Bonanno 2005: 79-80).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The specificity of the cult of Astarte in the Maltese archipelago is attested by an inscription from Tas-Silġ reporting 'štrt 'nn, "Astarte of Malta". The epiclesis 'nn indicates Malta as the place of origin of the cult (Grottanelli 1982: 108-109; Bonanno 2022: 37).

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